

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 STOCKHOLM 4610

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, SW
SUBJECT: THE MOOD IN SWEDEN

1. SUMMARY. WITH ELECTIONS LESS THAN A MONTH OFF, THE
REMARKABLE THING ABOUT SWEDEN, DESPITE WHAT MANY VISITING
JOURNALISTS SAY, IS HOW MANY THINGS THERE ARE RIGHT. THE
DEGREE OF ACCORD ON THE MAIN LINES OF POLICY--NEUTRALITY PLUS
A CREDIBLE DEFENSE POSTURE, THE WELFARE STATE PLUS A STRONGLY
PRIVATE-ENTERPRISE ECONOMY--IS NOTEWORTHY, AND BY AMERICAN
STANDARDS THE APPROACH TO THE ELECTIONS SO FAR IS DISPASSIONATE.
NEVERTHELESS, THERE IS AN INCREASED AMOUNT OF QUESTIONING
GOING ON IN SWEDEN, NOT SO MUCH ABOUT WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED
AS ABOUT WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS IF PRESENT TRENDS CONTINUE.
THE MOOD OF QUESTIONING HAS ALREADY PUT THE LONG-RULING SOCIAL
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DEMOCRATS SOMEWHAT ON THE DEFENSIVE, AND IF THEY RETAIN POWER

THEY CLEARLY MUST DEAL WITH SOME OF THE CIRITICISMS NOW IN THE AIR. IF THE OPPOSITION WINS, IT WILL BE WITH A CLEAR MANDATE TO FACE SOME OF THE PUBLIC'S QUESTIONS--ALTHOUGH ALL OBSERVERS WOULD EXPECT ACTUAL POLICY CHANGES TO BE CAREFUL AND GRADUAL. AS REGARDS POSSIBLE EFFECTS OF AN OPPOSITION VICTORY, THERE COULD CONCEIVABLY BE SOME STRENGTHENING OF CONSERVATIVE TRENDS IN SCANDINAVIA, AND SOME WORRY AROUSED IN MOSCOW ABOUT NORDIC DEVELOPMENTS; BUT THE MAJOR EFFECTS WOULD BE INTERNAL AND LONG-RANGE. AS FAR AS THE US IS CONCERNED, THE PRESENT MOOD IN SWEDEN APPARENTLY IS MOVING BOTH SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND OPPOSITION TOWARDS POLICIES GENERALLY MORE CONSONANT THAN IN THE PAST WITH US VIEWS AND INTERESTS. WITHIN THE SWEDISH MOOD, THEREFORE, WE SEE ROOM FOR CAUTIOUS HOPE THAT IN RELATIONS WITH THE US THE FUTURE WILL BRING FEWER IRRITANTS AND MORE COMMON INTERESTS. END SUMMARY.

2. ROUGHLY A MONTH BEFORE THE SWEDISH ELECTIONS SEEMS A PROPER TIME TO SURVEY THE COUNTRY'S MOOD, WITH A SPECIAL EYE TO THAT MOOD'S POSSIBLE EFFECT ON AMERICAN-SWEDISH RELATIONS. THE MOST STRIKING THING ABOUT SWEDEN IS HOW MANY THINGS RIGHT THERE ARE. WHILE VISITING JOURNALISTS MAGNIFY COMPLAINTS (WHICH INDEED EXIST) ABOUT TAXES AND BUREAUCRACY, MOST SWEDES KNOW VERY WELL HOW AFFLUENT AND PERSONALLY SECURE THEY ARE, AND THEY UNITE AROUND THE MAIN LINES OF NATIONAL POLICY-- NEUTRALITY PLUS A CREDIBLE DEFENSE POSTURE, A HIGHLY DEVELOPED WELFARE STATE PLUS A STRONGLY PRIVATE-ENTERPRISE ECONOMY. HAVING RIDDEN OUT THE WORLD RECESSION IN RELATIVELY GOOD FORM, DESPITE THEIR CONTINUED VULNERABILITY ON THE OIL PRICE FRONT, AND ENJOYING NATIONAL INCOME AND SOCIAL BENEFITS MORE IMPRESSIVE THAN PERHAPS ANY OTHER NATION'S, THE SWEDES HAVE SOME ROOM FOR SELF-SATISFACTION.

3. ACCORDINGLY, "DON'T LET THEM TAKE IT AWAY" IS THE THEME UNDERLYING THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS' CURRENT ELECTION CAMPAIGN, AS BEFITS A PARTY IN POWER ALMOST HALF A CENTURY. PRIME MINISTER PALME AND HIS TROOPS HAVE TO BE CAREFUL THOUGH. "WHAT HAVE YOU DONE FOR US LATELY?" IS AS POPULAR A QUESTION HERE AS IN AMERICA, AND THE OPPOSITION PARTIES CAN PROMISE NEW THINGS MORE CONVINCINGLY WHILE AT THE SAME TIME CRITICIZING THE GOVERNMENT'S MISTAKES AND WARNING ABOUT WHERE PRESENT TRENDS

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MIGHT LEAD. IF THE SLOGANS QUOTED ABOVE REFLECT AN AMERICAN FLAVOR IN SWEDISH POLITICS, THIS IS NO ACCIDENT: THE SWEDES ARE DEBATING MANY OF THE SAME THINGS WE ARE, NOT LEAST THE PROPER ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN THE LIFE OF THE NATION. DIFFERENCES OF COURSE ABOUND (INCLUDING THE FACT THAT THE ENTIRE POLITICAL SPECTRUM HERE IS TO THE LEFT OF OURS), AND ONE THAT STRIKES NEWCOMERS TO SWEDEN IS THE APPARENT ABSENCE OF PASSION ABOUT POLITICS. "GIVE 'EM HELL, HARRY*" IS UNTHINKABLE IN THE

SWEDISH MILIEU; "GIVE THEM WHAT FOR, OLOF" WOULD PROBABLY BE GOING TOO FAR. THE ABSENCE OF CONCERN ABOUT "IMAGE" IS REMARKABLE AS THE ELECTIONS APPROACH--SWEDES VOTE FOR PARTIES, NOT MEN--AND EVEN THE ISSUES ARE DISCUSSED WITH DISPASSIONATE CALM. THE THREE NON-SOCIALIST OPPOSITION PARTIES (LIBERALS, CENTER OR AGRARIANS, AND THE FORMER CONSERVATIVES NOW CALLED MODERATES) ARE NOT EVEN ABLE TO GET TOGETHER ON A JOINT PROGRAM, ALTHOUGH THIS WOULD SURELY ENHANCE THEIR CHANCES OF OUSTING THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

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4. THIS LACK OF PASSION IS PERHAPS TO BE EXPECTED IN SUCH A SMALL (8 MILLION), HOMOGENOUS AND RICH COUNTRY WHERE MOST PROBLEMS ARE, BY BRITISH OR SPANISH OR RUSSIAN OR AMERICAN STANDARDS, EMINENTLY MANAGEABLE. BUT THE DISPASSION POINTS TO SOME IMPORTANT REALITIES ABOUT SWEDEN. FIRST, THE CONTINUITY IS POLITICS HERE IS ASTONISHING. LOOKING BACK OVER THE STABLE

ELECTION STATISTICS, A CHANGE OF A FEW PERCENTAGE POINTS
SEPTEMBER 19 (EQUAL TO A FEW COUNTIES IN THE US) IS THE MOST
THAT IS EXPECTED. NO NATIONAL "SWING" WILL OCCUR. SECOND,
EVEN IF THE OPPOSITION GETS IN, GREAT CHANGES ARE NOT TO BE
EXPECTED, OWING TO THE NATIONAL CONSENSUS ON HOW THE COUNTRY
SHOULD WORK. THIRD, THE FACT IS THAT THE OPPOSITION PARTIES
ALREADY HAVE A VERY COMFORTABLE SHARE IN RUNNING SWEDEN, AND
WILL DO SO EVEN IF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS GET BACK IN: THE
BALANCE EXISTING IN THE COUNTRY, INCLUDING THE CITIES, THE
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REGIONS AND THE CENTRAL POWER ITSELF, IS NOTEWORTHY, AND THE
RULING ESTABLISHMENT INCLUDES ALL THE PARTIES. THIS DOES NOT
MEAN THE OPPOSITION WOULD NOT LIKE TO TAKE OVER THE CABINET:
IT DOES MEAN THAT THEY ARE BY NO MEANS EXCLUDED AT PRESENT FROM
NATIONAL POLICY FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION. ALL OF THIS
HELPS EXPLAIN THE LACK OF PASSION IN THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN, JUST
AS THE NATIONAL CHARACTERISTIC OF DISPASSION PROBABLY HELPS
EXPLAIN THE STABLE SWEDISH SYSTEM.

5. FOR ALL THAT, HOWEVER, THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF SOBER
QUESTIONING GOING ON. WHILE THE WELFARE STATE IS ACCEPTED,
ITS CONCOMITANT DISADVANTAGES--HUGE TAXES, HEINOUS RED TAPE,
THREATS TO PRIVACY--ARE FUSSED ABOUT A LOT. THE OPPOSITION
LEADERS ARE PLAYING ON WIDESPREAD CONCERN WHICH EXPRESSES
ITSELF IN SUCH QUESTIONS AS "WHAT IS IN THE FUTURE? WHAT DOES
SOCIALISM IN SWEDEN MEAN? AT WHAT POINT DOES WELFARE IMPINGE
ON LIBERTY? WHERE ARE THEY TAKING US?" PALME, A CONSUMMATELY
CLEVER POLITICIAN, IS OFTEN SEEN TO BE PUT ON THE DEFENSIVE,
A POSTURE MOST INCUMBENTS LIKE TO AVOID. OF COURSE THE
POWERFUL SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MACHINE--SO EFFICIENT IT MAY WELL
REACH ALMOST EVERY POTENTIAL SD VOTE IN THE COUNTRY BEFORE
BALLOTING STARTS--MAY OFFSET ANY DISADVANTAGE PALME'S OPPONENTS
PUT HIM AT. NEVERTHELESS, THE MOOD OF UNDERLYING QUESTIONING
LOOKS AS IF IT WILL KEEP ON: IF THEY WIN, THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS
ARE GOING TO HAVE TO COPE WITH IT; IF THE OPPOSITION WINS, THEY
MUST SEEK TO SATISFY IT. IT IS AS IF INTROSPECTION WERE THE
PRICE OF SUCCESS IN BUILDING A WELL-FUNCTIONING SOCIETY, AND
SELF-QUESTIONING SEEMS LIKELY TO GROW IN PROPORTION TO SELF-
SATISFACTION. AS FOR THE OPPOSITION, SINCE IT CONSISTS OF
THREE DISPARATE PARTIES WHO HAVE NEVER RULED TOGETHER, THEY
MAY FIND IT DISMAYINGLY HARD TO COOPERATE IN FINDING ANSWERS
TO THE PUBLIC'S QUESTIONS. (THEY HAVE JUST SENT FACT-FINDERS
TO THEIR FRATERNAL PARTIES IN NORWAY AND DENMARK TO ASK
PRACTICAL POINTERS ABOUT WHAT AN OPPOSITION ACTUALLY DOES WHEN
IT FINALLY COMES TO POWER.) IN OTHER WORDS, THE REAL FUN
MAY START AFTER THE ELECTIONS.

6. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, WHAT EFFECT MIGHT THE SWEDISH
ELECTORAL OUTCOME HAVE INSIDE AND OUTSIDE SWEDEN? IF THE

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WIN--AND THEY WOULD ALMOST HAVE TO IMPROVE
ON THEIR SHOWING THREE YEARS AGO TO DO SO--THEY WILL HAVE
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DEMONSTRATED AGAIN HOW WELL THEY HAVE MESHED THEIR POWER
STRUCTURE WITH THAT OF THE COUNTRY ITSELF; THEY SHOULD THEN BE
ABLE TO KEEP THE COUNTRY ROUGHLY ON ITS PRESENT COURSE. HOWEVER,
IN THEIR DEFENSIVE CONDITION--THEY HAVE HAD A LARGE DEFICIT IN
THE POLLS TO OVERCOME--THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS HAVE ALREADY MADE
SOME CONCESSIONS TO THE MOOD OF QUESTIONING. PALME HAS
ANNOUNCED MEASURES TO CONTROL THE ALL-POWERFUL BUREAUCRACY, A
BILL HAS BEEN PREPARED TO PROTECT PRIVACY BY RESTRICTING THE
USE OF TELEVISION CAMERAS FOR CLANDESTINE SNOOPING, AND OTHER
STEPS TO CURB THE BIG BROTHER ASPECT OF GOVERNMENT ARE BEING
DISCUSSED. EVEN A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC VICTORY, THEN, COULD
RESULT IN SOME PULLING IN OF HORNS. IF THE OPPOSITION WINS,
WHILE THEY WOULD BE EXPECTED TO CONSIDER VARIOUS CHANGES,
THEY WOULD STILL HAVE TO COPE WITH THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AS BY
FAR THE LARGEST PARTY; AND IN ANY EVENT THEIR FIRST TEST
WOULD BE TO SEE IF THEY ARE CAPABLE OF GOVERNING EFFECTIVELY
IN TANDEM. MANY SWEDES BELIEVE THE OPPOSITION WILL HAVE GREAT
TROUBLE IN HOLDING THEIR COALITION TOGETHER ONCE IN POWER, AND
THINK A PERIOD OF DISSENSION (FOR EXAMPLE OVER NUCLEAR ENERGY
POLICY) COULD WELL LEAD TO A FRESH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC OPPORTUNITY.
IN ANY EVENT PALME, AS THE LOSER, WOULD BE A FORMIDABLE
OPPONENT, AND WOULD SURELY NOT BE CONTENT TO STAY OUT OF POWER
IF HE COULD HELP IT. AGAINST THE MOOD OF SELF-SATISFACTION
PLUS SELF-WUESTIONING, THE OPPORTUNITY FOR POLITICAL GAMESMANSHIP
MAY BE LARGE.

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7. EFFECTS OUTSIDE SWEDEN. IF THE OPPOSITION WON, OVER A FIGURE OF PALME'S INTERNATIONAL STANDING, THERE MIGHT BE SOME INDIRECT EFFECTS IN SCANDINAVIA IN THE DIRECTION OF STRENGTHENING THE CONSERVATIVES. (THE PROXIMITY IN TIME TO THE GERMAN ELECTIONS IS SUCH THAT SOME GERMANS HERE FEEL A PALME DEFEAT MIGHT ALSO GIVE A SMALL BOOST TO THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS IN THE FRG ELECTIONS.) SOME SWEDISH SOVIET-WATCHERS THINK THE RUSSIANS PREFER A PALME VICTORY (MOSTLY BECAUSE HE IS FAMILIAR TO THEM) AND, IF HE LOSES, MIGHT CONCEIVABLY TREAD A BIT ON FINNISH TOES JUST TO REMIND THE SWEDISH NON-SOCIALISTS THAT THEY CANNOT TREAT THE USSR WITH IMPUNITY. THIS IS OBVIOUSLY HIGHLY SPECULATIVE. ANOTHER EFFECT WOULD BE THE LOSS TO THE EUROPEAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT OF A FIGURE OF PALME'S STANDING AS HEAD OF GOVERNMENT.

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8. AS FAR AS THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED, THE SWEDISH ELECTIONS ARE OF LIMITED DIRECT IMPORTANCE. NEVERTHELESS THE "QUESTIONING" PART OF THE NATIONAL MOOD IS NOT WITHOUT INTEREST, BECAUSE WHATEVER CONSENSUS IT REPRESENTS CONSTITUTES SOME PRESSURE ON THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT (OF WHICHEVER PARTIES) TO ADOPT POLICIES MORE CONSONANT WITH US VIEWS AND INTERESTS. THE SWEDES STILL LIKE TO ADOPT A HOLIER-THAN-THOU ATTITUDE ON THE WORLD SCENE (ONE CYNICAL DIPLOMAT SAID, "THANK GOD FOR SOUTH AFRICA, OTHERWISE THE SWEDES WOULD BE CITICIZING MY COUNTRY MORE OFTEN"), AND THE US WILL CONTINUE TO CATCH SOME BARBS; BUT AFTER THE ANTI-VIETNAM EXCESSES OF A FEW YEARS BACK, THE SWEDISH MOOD NOW HAS TURNED INWARD. IT IS OF SYMBOLIC INTEREST THAT SO FAR IN THE ELECTIONS NO ONE BUT THE UNREPRESENTATIVE COMMUNISTS (VPK) HAVE EVEN MENTIONED "US IMPERIALISM." IN THE POST-VIETNAM PERIOD, THE OPPORTUNITIES

FOR US-SWEDISH DIFFERENCES DIMINISH AND THE REASONS FOR WORKING TOGETHER--ESPECIALLY AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF SWEDEN'S ECONOMIC AND DEFENSE NEEDS AND VULNERABILITIES--INCREASE. IN FACT, THE PERCEIVED REALITIES OF THE WORLD TODAY IN MOST SWEDISH EYES CONSTITUTE A SERIES OF REASONS FOR CONTINUING TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. THIS DOES NOT MEAN UNCRITICAL ADMIRATION, BY SOCIAL DEMOCRATS OR OPPOSITION (AND CERTAINLY NOT BE THE FEISTY SWEDISH MEDIA); IT DOES MEAN FEWER IRRITANTS AND MORE COMMON INTERESTS. SHOULD THE OPPOSITION WIN AND GOVERN SUCCESSFULLY, WE COULD HOPE FOR A MORE HELPFUL SWEDISH ROLE IN SOME AREAS (E.G. POLICY TOWARDS SPAIN, OR THIRD WORLD ECONOMIC POLICY IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS, OR PERHAPS IN AID POLICY TOWARDS "PROGRESSIVE" COUNTRIES). EVEN IF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS GET BACK IN, THE SAME PRESSURES WHICH HAVE RECENTLY MADE SUCH AN IMPROVEMENT IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WILL STILL BE AT WORK. IN SUM, WE SEE THE PRESENT MOOD IN SWEDEN--WHICH WE COULD CHARACTERIZE NOT AS CONSERVATIVE, OR AS BACKWARD-LOOKING, BUT AS A COCKING OF THE EYE AT PRESENT TRENDS--AS CONTRIBUTING TO CONTINUED IMPROVEMENT IN THE CLIMATE OF US-SWEDISH RELATIONS.

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